Masthead Logo

The Palimpsest

Volume 71 | Number 2

Article 5

4-1-1990

Blackface in the White Mind: Racial Stereotypes in Sioux City, Iowa, 1874-1910

William L. Hewitt

BLACKFACE in the WHITE MIND

Racial Stereotypes in Sioux City, Iowa, 1874–1910

by William L. Hewitt

TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY Sioux Citians took pride in their city, situated on a bend of the Missouri River where Nebraska and South Dakota meet Iowa. They saw their community as a progressive one with few social problems. They considered themselves benevolent and paternalistic in their dealings with their own small population of blacks. Black-white relations certainly seemed amicable, since there had never been an incident of racial violence that anyone could recall. Nevertheless, upon examination, Sioux Citians — as consumers of the popular entertainment accessible to them — directed a surprising amount of ridicule toward their black population. Borrowing from plays, minstrel shows, best-selling novels, and movies, whites adopted racist stereotypes of blacks that ranged from the contented plantation worker to the vicious black "beast." These attitudes, probably representative of those of many turn-of-the-century white Americans, are revealed in the theater reviews, news reports, and editorial cartoons of Sioux City newspapers and provide chilling evidence of the racism in mainstream America a century ago. Although Sioux Citians increasingly accepted negative and critical images of blacks, they resisted the most extreme manifestations of racism.

Since most Sioux Citians had little first-hand understanding of blacks, they borrowed what understanding they did have from abstract portrayals of black personalities on the stage. The stereotypical image of blacks associated with the idyllic and carefree gang labor on antebellum plantations received constant reinforcement in Sioux City through such popular entertainment as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and minstrel shows. From 1870 to 1915, for example, Sioux Citians saw 237 productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and minstrel shows. These performances provided compelling images of blacks and of white relationships with blacks.

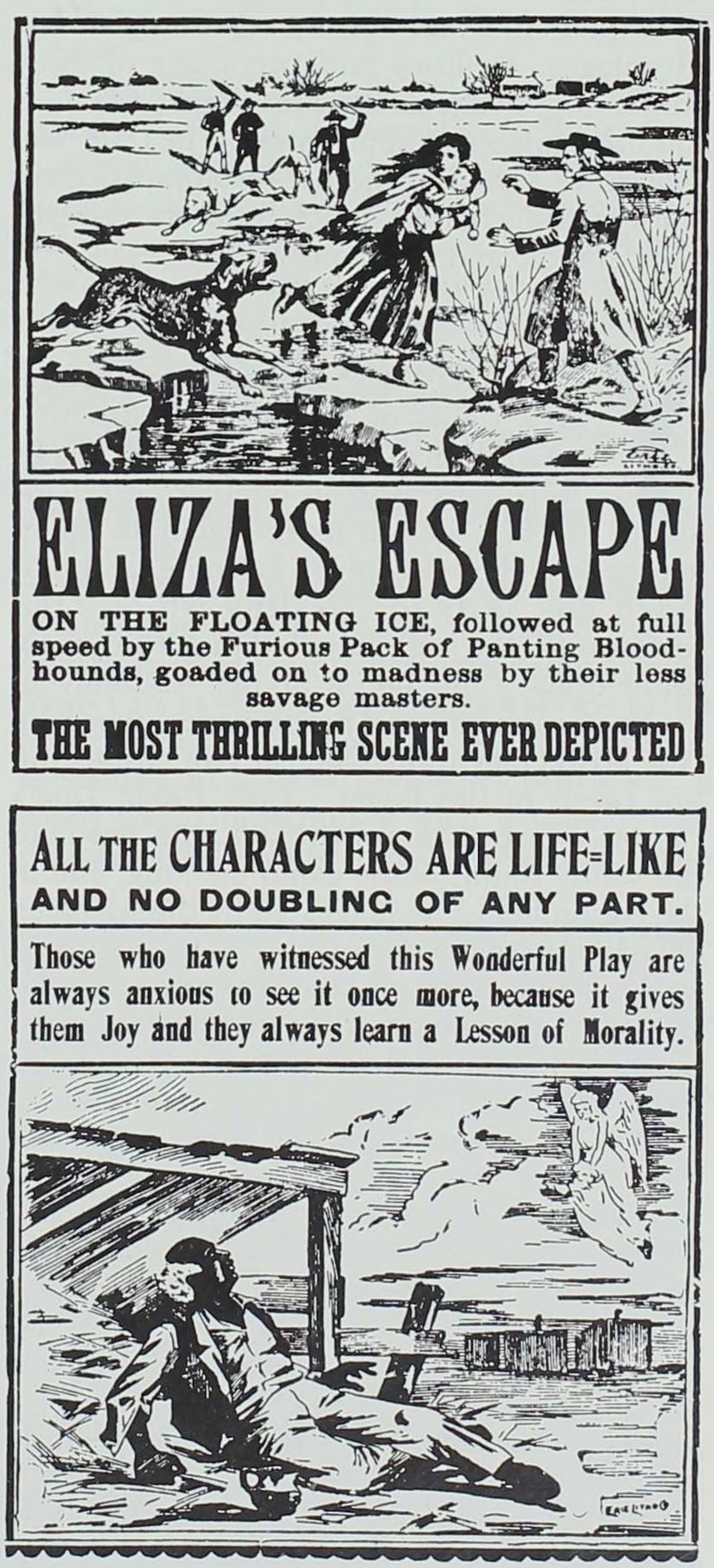
The popular novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, first published by author Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1852, provided a stock of memorable characterizations for stage productions. Characters such as the benevolent Kentucky plantation owner Mr. Selby; Eliza fleeing her pursuers over the ice; angelic little Eva; comical Topsy and Mark the Lawyer; and especially the drunken and brutal Simon Legree and the deferential Uncle Tom contributed to the audience's romanticized view of plantation life. Even a bad production of the play, as the reviewer for the *Sioux City Journal* observed in 1881, drew "to the front of the foot-lights hundreds who look upon the ordinary theater going as sinful pleasure." The reviewer noted, furthermore, that "everybody is familiar with

the book upon which the play is founded, and though Mother Stowe might be excused for holding up her hands in holy horror at the liberties taken with her characters, there is an interest bordering on the morbid attached to the historic volume which enables its dramatization to draw like a funeral." One production attempted to increase the appeal of the play by introducing two Topsy characters, two Mark the Lawyer characters, and "two trick donkeys and six mammoth blood hounds" for the chase scenes.

The popularity of the play in Sioux City, and in surrounding towns visited by theatrical syndicates, created such demand for the novel that the local bookseller could not meet the requests. A *Sioux City Daily Times* reporter in 1883 contended that the book provided suitable reading material for "the freedom loving elements of Christendom." Long after the Civil War and Reconstruction, the book and the play still evoked the same response Stowe had sought in the 1850s. The *Sioux City Daily Times* reporter asserted in 1883, in fact, that "whether the present spontaneous and simultaneous revival of the demand for copies of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a premonition, or warning to democrats in power to 'go slow,' and to embryo republicans to wake up to the duties of the present and the future, would make a fine subject for lyceum discussion."

The moral tone in many of the stage productions of the novel outweighed any compunction on moral grounds an opponent might have had to theater productions in general. The *Sioux City Journal* had editorialized in 1878 that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* should be regarded as "so mild and moral that even tolerably strict church members may see it performed without compromising themselves in regard to those matters which are popularly supposed to be required of professors of religion."

Although *Uncle Tom's Cabin* clearly established the stereotype of compliant plantation slaves, its sentimental and moral message also dramatically reinforced Sioux Citians' and other Iowans' commitment to egalitarianism for blacks. Their rejection of the antebellum planter class and reaction to the failure of Reconstruction led to state legislation protective of blacks. Iowans resented southern white Democrats usurping the newly gained voting rights of blacks. These developments moved Iowans to protect blacks in the state from such abuses. A referendum passed in 1868 removed the word "white" from the state constitution and guaranteed black men the vote; in 1880 a



Early popular entertainment such as minstrel shows and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* perpetuated racial stereotypes and sentimental attitudes about plantation life.

state constitutional amendment removed the barrier to blacks serving in the state legislature. Just when southerners, especially, adopted more stringent "Jim Crow," or segregation, measures, the 1884 Iowa legislature passed a civil rights act affirming that "all persons within this state shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, public conveyances, barber shops, theaters and other places of amusement." In 1892, the legislature added to the list restaurants, chop houses, eating houses, lunch counters, refreshment stands, and bathhouses.

YET AS IOWANS moved to protect the civil rights of blacks, they also witnessed changes in the ways blacks were portrayed in popular entertainment. In 1874, before more elaborate opera houses seated blacks only in balconies and provided box seats for wealthy whites, the reviewer for the *Journal* noted that if any show could draw a full house at the Academy of Music it was a minstrel performance, whereby "the aristocracy from 'Codfish Hill' jostles the low breds of the levee." Like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, minstrel shows evoked "the flavor of the sunny south, of the camp meeting, and of the cotton field," as suggested by the Alabama Quartet's harmonizing of "fun on the old plantation." But minstrel shows augmented the plantation stereotype with a repertoire of more negative images and distortions. A new and more elaborate Peavey Grand Opera House, built in 1888, provided the Primrose and Dockstader Big Minstrels with a large and enthusiastic audience on Saturday, October 10, 1898. The highlight of their performance occurred when "a watermelon ten feet high and reaching across the stage is sliced so as to show the luscious meat and the black seeds . . . the latter representing the faces of pickaninnies."

Moreover, these later minstrel shows featuring what the local papers called "dusky," "ebony-faced," "Big Black Coons," or "Ethiopian" comedians firmly established the notion that blacks were inherently musical — either sadly resigned to their position (depicted by mournful spirituals) or joyously carefree.

Handsome Young Brunette.

By distorting physical features and dialect, cartoons such as these two poked fun at blacks for seeking inclusion in what whites considered an exclusively white past, and for copying northern fashions. (*Sioux City Journal*, June 2, 1902 and February 17, 1900).

Blacks, and white actors in blackface, portrayed plantation slaves as untutored, simple, docile, and manageable, or as unambitious and lazy buffoons. White audiences saw blacks as, essentially, perpetual children or comical fools in need of white guidance and supervision. In time, these images came to be lumped together under the label "Sambo." The downcast eyes of the Sambo, along with shuffling feet, soft, uncertain words, and a totally pliant manner, were white-invented signals to be used by a black character to say that this individual posed no threat.

Another feature of minstrel shows, the high-kicking, strutting cake walk, became popular after the 1870s. The cake walk had originated on plantations when slaves dressed in their masters' and mistresses' discarded finery and competed for a prize, usually a cake. Blacks affecting white standards and style of dress appealed to white egos. But to make the distinction clear and unambiguous — since more and more northern blacks copied white fashion — whites looked for exaggerated ties, boutonnieres, vests, uses of handkerchiefs, or fabric

AT THE FANCY DRESS BALL
She—Who is yo' goin' as, Rastus?
Rastus — I'se Sir Waltah Raleigh. Who's yo'?
She — I'se Marta Washington, I is.

patterns as a focus for their criticism and ridicule of these "pretensions."

The creation of ludicrous northern black characters reinforced white self-esteem and made white audiences feel superior in intelligence and socioeconomic status. Robert Toll concludes in his study *Blacking Up*, "Minstrels created and repeatedly portrayed the contrasting caricatures of inept, ludicrous Northern blacks and contented, fulfilled Southern Negroes. Besides providing 'living' proof that whites need not feel guilty about racial caste, the minstrel plantation also furnished romanticized images of a simpler, happier time when society was properly ordered and the loving bonds of home and family were completely secure."

Newspaper cartoonists also attempted to capture the spirit of minstrelsy in their visual portrayal of blacks, and they embellished the distorted caricatures with outrageous hairstyles and enlarged ears, eyes, lips, and feet. Moreover, the use — or misuse — of black dialect through slurred word endings, mispronounced words, and misunderstood meanings added a superficial air of authenticity to black caricatures and did editorially what blackface did visually. These distorted cartoon characterizations revealed subtle shifts toward a "new Negro" image.

White audiences expected and preferred the distorted images of blacks offered by white minstrels. Black minstrel troops had played in Sioux City as early as 1883 but not always to the best reviews. The Georgia Colored Minstrels, according to a local reviewer, provided "a wishy-washy imitation of what is usually well performed by a white troop." Nonetheless, the

E.M. CLARK COLLECTION, SHSI

Black minstrel singers perform in Ruthven, Iowa, circa 1910. Turn-of-the-century newspapers reported that audiences considered white performers in blackface superior to black minstrels.

Iowans in blackface enjoy themselves at a 1902 party.

reviewer continued, "Sioux Citians as a rule seemed to take unexplicable [*sic*] pleasure in flocking to the Academy of Music when the trashiest kind of so-called amusement troupes come here." Despite drawing good houses, black entertainers did not provide the essence of the minstrel show, according to Sioux City whites. "Minstrelsy by real black faces" proved less popular since "playgoers are somewhat uncertain about the ability of negroes as entertainers, and they save up their money for such minstrelsy as Wm. West and Dockstader & Primrose are in the habit of furnishing," commented a *Journal* reviewer in April 1901. When McCabe and Young's Minstrels combined white and black minstrel players for a performance in Sioux City in 1894, audiences were small.

Although Sioux City audiences enjoyed performances by renowned black minstrels such as Billy Kersands because of "his cavernous mouth," they repeatedly preferred white men in blackface. After seeing a black minstrel show in 1901 the *Journal* reviewer found "further proof that white men make funnier black men for minstrel purposes than the real article of negroes. That real fun and that real comedy and wit which are found in the makeup of a white minstrel comedian are wanting in nine black minstrels out of ten." Thus what the reviewer revealed was the desire on the part of whites to retain control of the images of blacks projected by minstrel players.

The consequences of minstrel shows included jokes told and retold and vivid visual images that made black stereotypes "a kind of 'national folklore,'" according to Houston A. Baker, Jr., in *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance*, "a constellation of images, definitions, symbols, and meanings that most Americans could and did share."

WHITE AMERICANS, and Sioux Citians as represented in this case study, actually represented a spectrum of racial attitudes that historian Joel Williamson has broadly categorized as liberal, moderate, and radical. "Liberals" believed, in brief, that they could accept blacks

even though they did not yet know their potential. Liberals, however, were overwhelmingly outnumbered by "Moderates," who always assumed black inferiority, yet who might accept a degree of accommodation with blacks. Moderates, or "accommodationists," called for kindness towards blacks on the grounds that they had retained under freedom many of the supposedly amiable characteristics of the faithful slaves under the paternalistic plantation tradition. Surely images of loyal Uncle Tom and benevolent Messrs. Shelby and St. Clare came to mind. To uphold their view of the black as a harmless child or helpless ward, these neopaternalists of the Progressive Era had to counter the charge that a growing incidence of sexual attacks on white women reflected a fundamental bestiality in the black race. In general, Moderates countered that charge by pointing out that such crimes remained so rare and exceptional that they revealed nothing about the essential black character.

"Radicals" were especially prominent during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Under their "black degeneracy" hypothesis, a "new" or "beast Negro," freed from the restrictions of slavery at the end of the Civil War, was retrogressing rapidly toward a natural state of savagery and bestiality. With the shift in orientation of minstrel shows from plantation to urban North, the "beast" and dumb comic stereotype, viciously spread by Radicals, supplanted the tragic or contented plantation black stereotypes adopted by Moderates.

Under the Radical mentality, blacks were seen as watermelon- and chicken-eating fools and the butt of jokes. Dice, gambling, chicken stealing, watermelons, bananas, ham bones, camp meetings, and a penchant for razors became trademarks of these urban caricatures. The "coon song," moreover, assigned traits that emphasized grotesque physical features in big-footed, big-lipped, pop-eyed black caricatures. The menacing razor-toting black man completed the stereotype. These images, seen over and over, instilled fear of what Radicals termed the "bad coon" and replaced the paternalism of the plantation. Subliminal messages portrayed blacks as subhumans, not to be trusted. The Radical solution was complete separation of whites and blacks.

According to Liberals and Moderates, the Radicals were whipping the masses into frenzies of racial hatred that endangered the very foundations of society. Although they failed to change popular opinion in the South, Liberals and Moderates partially restrained Radical influence in the North. They began to campaign against lynching and helped bring about a gradual decrease in racial murders of this type.

Yet in 1901 Sioux City narrowly escaped the onus of a lynching. James McGuire, a black, was arraigned in police court on October 28, on the charge of sodomy with a thirteen-year-old messenger boy. Because of the talk of lynching during the day, the chief of police moved McGuire from the city jail to the county jail. Shortly after McGuire arrived at the county jail, cell mate Matt Davey tried to escape while

SENATOR TILLMAN GIVES PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT A FEW POINTERS ON HOW TO CONDUCT ONESELF IN OFFICE

The issue of lynch laws hangs from the back of Senate chair of a hysterical Benjamin Tillman, outspoken Radical. (January 19, 1906)

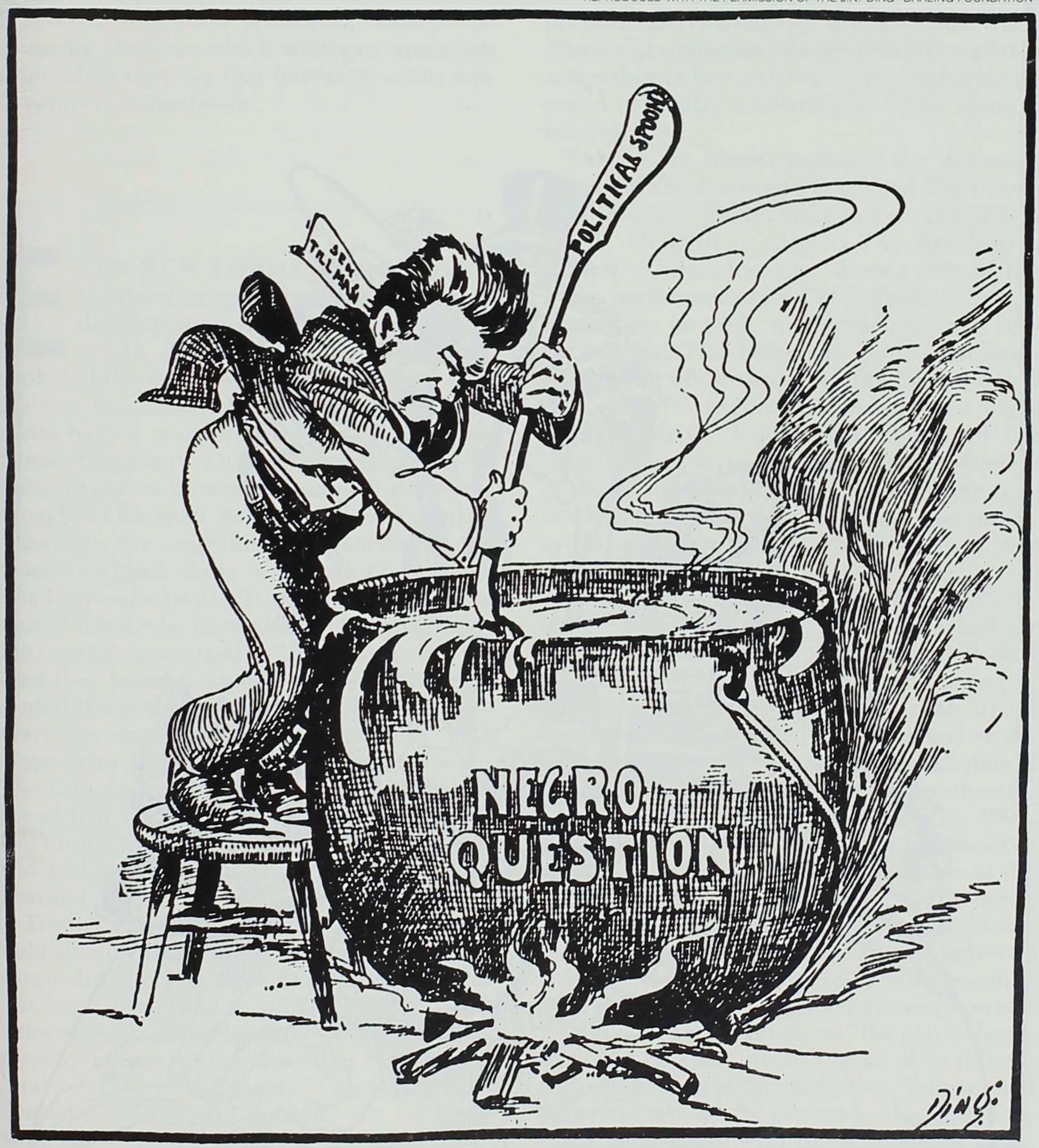
working on the rock pile. After his recapture Davey said that he had thought he might be lynched if a mob breaking into jail had mistaken him for McGuire. The *Journal* made light of the incident in its story titled "Coons Might Look Alike." (This title echoed a song by variety show performer Clara Kimball on December 14, 1897. According to a local newspaper review, Kimball sang, "'All Coons Look Alike To Me' in such a fetching manner that she at once installed herself in the hearts of her hearers.")

ALTHOUGH Sioux City Moderates did not usually object to the Radical notions of black inferiority or the need for separation, they dissented from the extreme manifestations of the Radicals' racism. A partial explanation for their dissent might be the image of an evil Simon Legree persecuting Uncle Tom, repeatedly witnessed in productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The creations of local newspaper cartoonists reveal most graphically the image Sioux City Moderates had of blacks and of Radical approaches to what was termed "the Negro question." The cartoons of Jay N. "Ding" Darling, for example, reflected the consensus of the Sioux City community at large. Later a Pulitzer Prize winner, Darling began his career as cartoonist for the *Sioux City Journal* from 1901 to 1906. In a 1903 Darling cartoon, two enormous children are squaring off for a fight. The black child is labeled "Race Question," and the white child, "Mob Law." In the foreground a much smaller Uncle Sam rolls up his sleeves and prepares to paddle them with his shoe, labeled "Justice." Darling thus indicated his disdain for the Radicals' use of extralegal violence but apparently recognized the size of the problem. In another 1903 cartoon, Darling depicted a northerner and a southerner crowding a black man off the earth, thereby suggesting that the Radical position of providing no place for blacks in American society offered no workable solution.

Sioux City's rejection of the Radicals' racial attitudes might best be gauged by local reaction to Radical firebrand Benjamin F. Tillman, a South Carolina senator. In the 1890s Tillman had begun making nationally publicized anti-black statements. During his 1892 South Carolina gubernatorial bid, for example, he declared, "I would lead a mob to lynch the negro who ravishes a white woman." Sioux City's reaction to Tillman revealed the residue of the *Uncle Tom* shows: Tillman was held to be the incarnation of "the barbarous depravity of 'Legrees' of the South." Darling's cartoons of Tillman make him look hysterical. Reverend Doctor F. E. Day, pastor of the Whitefield Methodist Church in Sioux City, declared at a meeting of the Ministerial Association that "he would a thousand times rather entertain a negro at this table than Benjamin F. Tillman." Day maintained that "as long as white people continued to judge the colored man by the worst example and the white man by the best example, just that long would the race separation continue."

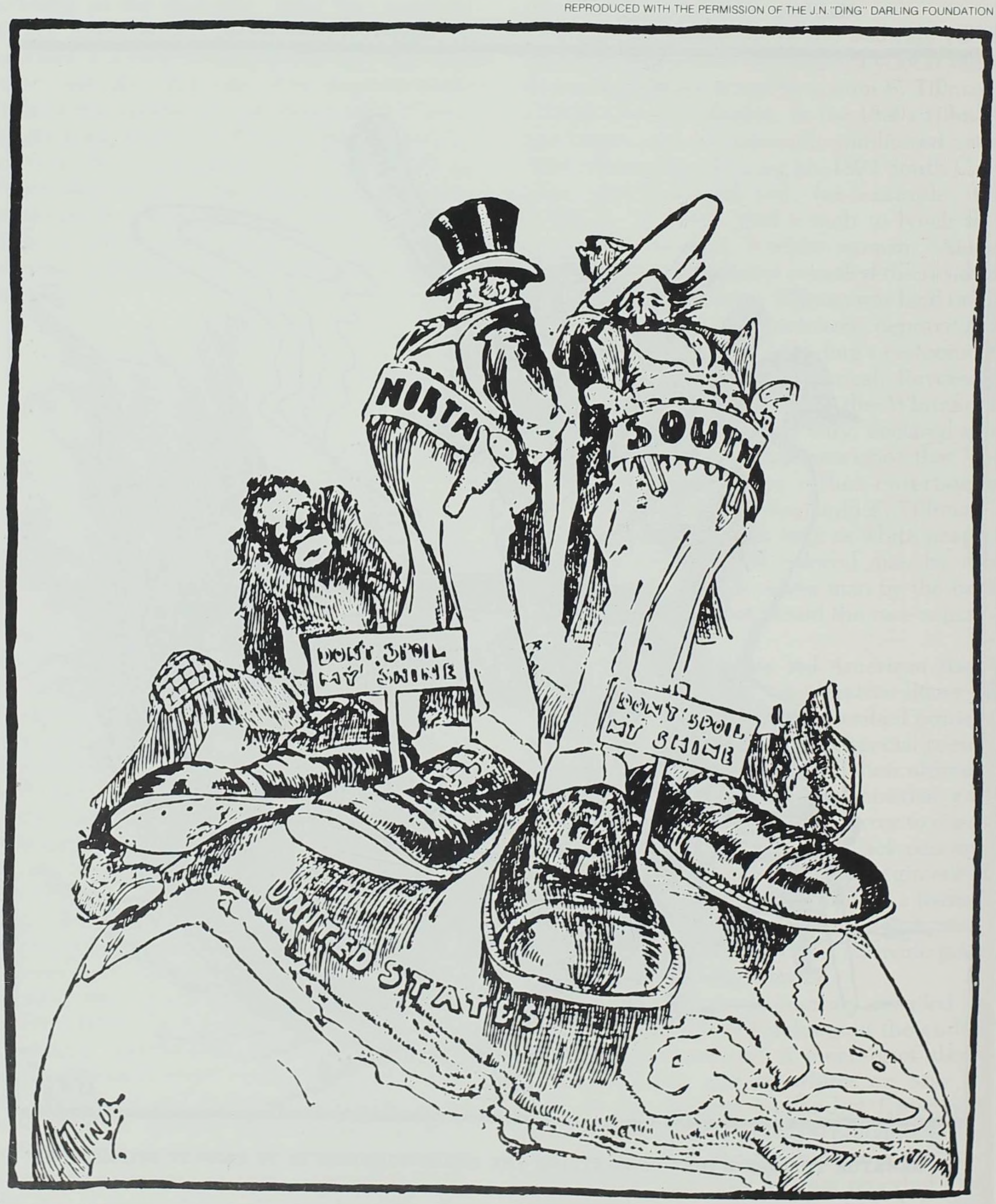
Nevertheless, Tillman led American Radicals in an increasingly vituperative litany of propaganda. Rape and the prescribed punishment of lynching became their special preoccupation. Lynching represented their ultimate sociological method of racial control and repression. They used fear and terror to check "dangerous" tendencies in the black community, considered to be ineffectively regimented or supervised. As such it constituted a Radical confession that the institutions of a segregated, or Jim Crow, society provided an inadequate measure of day-to-day control.

Sioux City's black community recoiled in reaction to the rash of lynchings at the end of the nineteenth century. A meeting of about thirty-five blacks and six whites on May 5, 1899, at the African Methodist Episcopal Church, for example, had been precipitated by thirty lynchings in the nation during the preceding thirty days. The *Journal* reported that state senator J. S. Lothrop, local black leader W. P. Shields, and Reverend J. A. Fisher spoke at the meeting, although "only [Fisher] displayed much indignation" about the lynchings. They cautioned blacks not to "assume a



SENATOR TILLMAN'S IDEA OF SETTLING THE NEGRO QUESTION IS TO KEEP IT STIRRED UP.

In his August 26, 1903, cartoon, "Ding" Darling represented the moderate viewpoint, editorializing against the political demagogue from South Carolina, Senator Benjamin F. Tillman.



NO PLACE TO GO BUT OFF
THE COLORED MAN: "Land o' Lobe, White Man, Where Does You 'Low I's Gwine to Stan'?"

According to Darling, the stand taken by northerners and southerners left little room for blacks (August 3, 1903).

spirit of anarchy" but to attend to "business and godliness [to] overcome prejudice." The group adopted a resolution protesting "against the cowardly slanders which southern apologists utter when they say that lynchings occur only to protect womanhood."

EVER NEW FORMS of popular entertainment perpetuated the widespread dissemination of radical racial propaganda. The novelist who most fully exploited the literary possibilities arising from the fear was Thomas Dixon, whose novels of racial hatred were best sellers in the early twentieth century. Dixon, a prominent Baptist minister before he wrote sensationalist novels, thought of his work as an evangelical effort to transform the traditional stereotype of the innocuous black. As he wrote of his first novel, *The Leopard's Spots*, "It may shock the prejudice of those who have idealized or worshiped the negro as canonized in 'Uncle Tom.' *Is* it not time they heard the whole truth?" Dixon presented the extreme racist position, the full literary development of the concepts of black degeneracy, animality, and "sexual Madness." *The Leopard's Spots*, published in 1902, proposed that the Civil War and Reconstruction had turned the black from "chattel to be bought and sold into a possible beast to be feared and guarded."

Dixon's most popular novel, *The Clansman*, published in 1905, was the basis of the highly successful film *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915. His book attempted to prove bestial propensities of blacks. The character who speaks most directly for the author describes the black as "half child, half animal," motivated by "impulse, whim, and conceit, ... a being who, left to his will, roams at night and sleeps in the day, whose speech knows no word of love, whose passions, once aroused, are as the fury of the tiger." The climax of the book is the rape of a young white virgin. As Dixon described this event, before discreetly lowering the curtain, "A single tiger spring, and the black claws of the beast sank into the soft white throat." The act results in the suicide of the victim and her mother, followed by a solemn, portentous lynching by the Ku Klux Klan. Dixon's glorification of such fictional vigilante action during Reconstruction offered his justification of similar retaliation by white mobs in his own time.

Sioux City blacks realized the potential impact of *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman* as stage productions before Dixon and D. W. Griffith produced *The Birth of a Nation*. (Coincidentally, during one of the many performances of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Sioux City in 1906, a *Journal* reviewer suggested that *The Leopard's Spots* had been "written to offset the sympathy for the negro aroused by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and that it might someday drive 'Uncle Tom' shows off the road.") When an upcoming theater production of the Dixon novels was announced, the new black pastor in town implored his community to become more involved in the debate over the race question.

Described as "a progressive and active minister," Reverend J. Cornelius Reid had assumed the pastorate of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church in November 1906 after serving in Ft. Madison, Iowa. Believing that Dixon sought to increase racial prejudice and strife, Reid stridently objected to the dramatization of the novels, soon to be shown in a local theater. The *Sioux City Journal* of February 24, 1907, reported that Reid had taken his community's protest to Harry H. Tallman, manager of the New Grand Theatre. According to the newspaper, Reid had found the meeting "satisfactory." Reid reported that Tallman believed that *The Clansman* "conveyed a moral lesson to both races and that the public's conception of it is wrong." In Tallman's view, the play's theme was one of swift punishment of evildoers regardless of race. Nevertheless, Tallman had agreed to take up the protest by the Sioux City black community with the Kansas City management of the theater and that managers "Woodward & Burgess would have to settle the matter."

Reid had then confronted Tallman with his practice of seating blacks only in the balcony, derisively called "nigger heaven." According to Reid, "Mr. Tallman said he never had

refused to sell a ticket to colored people in any part of his theater." But Tallman had added in a paternalistic tone, "the colored man could use his money to better advantage than to pay fabulous prices for parquet seats."

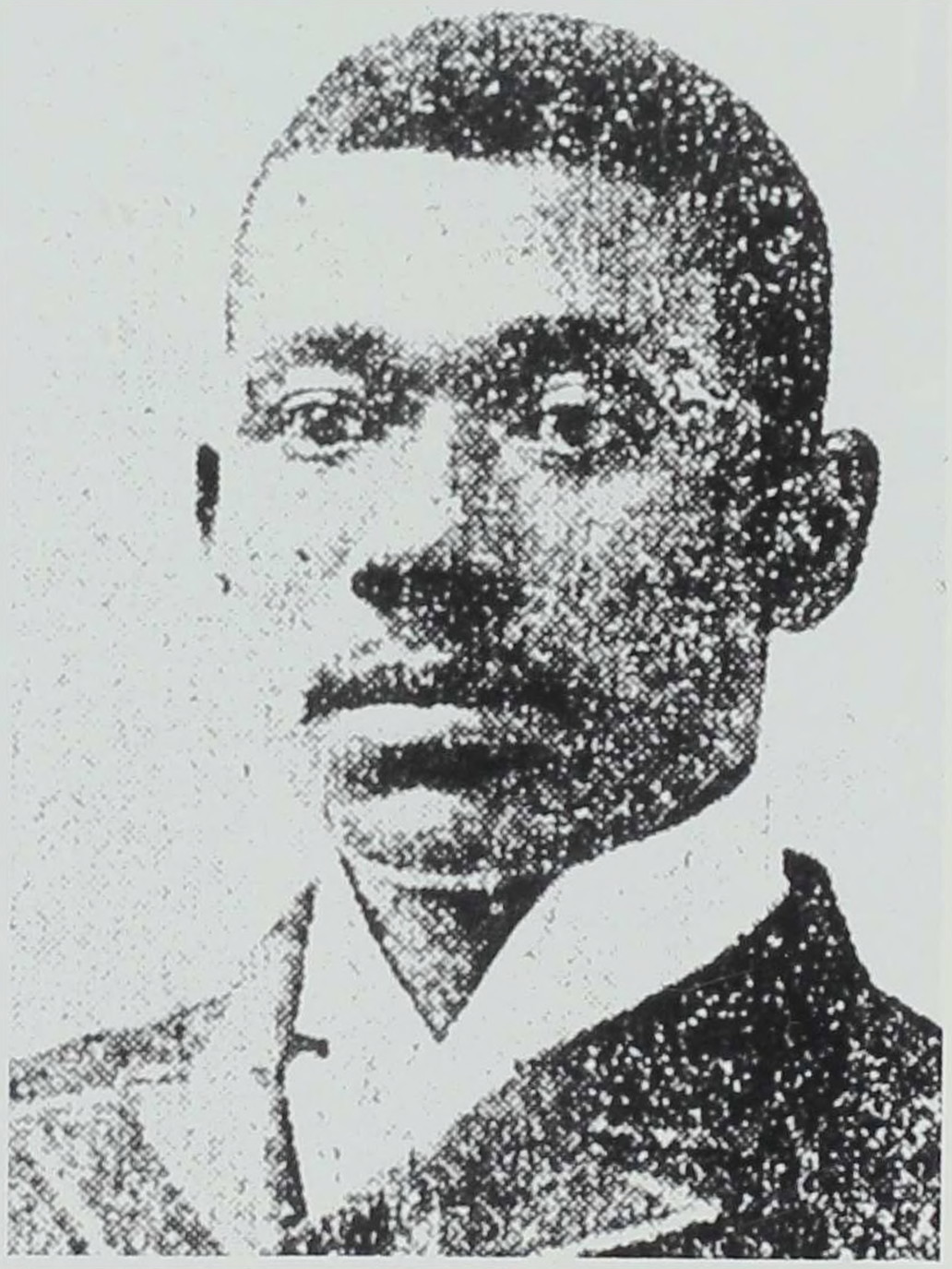
Reid responded that "racial dignity is what the black man needs." He condemned the practice of local theaters seating "respectable colored people" in Jim Crow sections and proposed a boycott of the theater. He urged the black theater-goer "to stay at home, even if an intense desire prompts him to witness a good play." Reid continued, "The sins of the management will not minimize the wrong, neither will those who complain of decent colored people sitting beside them be blameless."

SPARE THE ROD AND SPOIL THE CHILD
It's Time You Were Getting Busy, Uncle. Those Boys Will Soon Be Too Big to Handle.

"Ding" Darling's cartoon of July 28, 1903, suggests that extralegal methods such as lynching threatened the nation's judicial foundations.

Reid asserted, moreover, that even though blacks had been guaranteed the right of citizenship and a franchise by constitutional amendments, their social equality would only be guaranteed by white acceptance. Dignity could not be revealed from behind a burnt cork mask of minstrel images.

THUS, IN THE YEARS between 1874 and 1910, Sioux City whites accepted the spectrum of black stereotypes pervasive in white America. They viewed blacks "through a glass, darkly," using a lexicon of racial vocabulary and notions from a variety of popular entertainment. These plays, minstrel shows, novels, and movies supplied, reinforced, and reflected racist portrayals of blacks as inferior to whites physically, intellectually, and temperamentally. However, contrary to attempts by Radicals to violently suppress and eliminate blacks from American society, Moderates in Sioux City foresaw continued accommodation with blacks. Yet as the Radical images of blacks became more stridently negative and pervasive in local popular entertainment, it remained to be seen if the Moderate consensus in Sioux City would prevail. □



Sioux City minister J. Cornelius Reid called for "racial dignity" in his protest against segregated seating and dramatizations of racist novels by Thomas Dixon.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Sioux City's two leading newspapers of the Progressive Era were the *Sioux City Journal* and the *Sioux City Daily Times*. Useful sources about black Americans include: C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd rev. ed. (1974); Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (1984), especially Part 3, "The North and The Negro"; David Gordon Nielson, *Black Ethos: Northern Urban Negro Life and Thought, 1890–1930* (1977); Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877–1900* (1954); August Meier and Elliott M. Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto: An Interpretive History of American Negroes* (1966); Stanley Lieberson, *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks And White Immigrants Since 1880* (1980); George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (1971), chap. 10 "Accommodationist Racism and the Progressive Mentality"; and I.A. Newby, *Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought In America, 1900–1930* (1965).

Lawrence Levine discusses humor as an adjustment to the harsh reality of life in Jim Crow America in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (1978), especially chap. 5, "Black Laughter." See also Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America* (1974), and *On With the Show: The First Century of Show Business in America* (1976); William L. Van Deburg, *Slavery & Race in American Popular Culture* (1984); Houston A. Baker, Jr., *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* (1987); and Margaret Just Butcher, *The Negro in American Culture* (1956).

David L. Lendt, *Ding: The Life of Jay Norwood Darling* (1979); Ruth A. Gallaher, "J.N. Ding," *Palimpsest*, 11 (Nov. 1930), 499-514; David L. Lendt, "J.N. 'Ding' Darling: The Formative Years," *Annals of Iowa*, 45 (Fall 1979), 135-46; Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* (1944), especially chap. 26, "The Negro Issue"; Paul W. Black, "Lynchings In Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 10 (April 1912), 151-254; John Hope Franklin, "'Birth of a Nation'—Propaganda as History," *Massachusetts Review*, 20 (Autumn 1979); Thomas R. Cripps, "The Reaction of the Negro to the Motion Picture 'Birth of a Nation,'" *The Historian*, 25 (May 1963), 344-62; Thomas Dixon, Jr., *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865–1900* (1902).

Dorothy Schwieder, Joseph Hraba, and Elmer Schwieder provide a good description of an Iowa black community in *Buxton: Work and Racial Equality in a Coal Mining Community* (1987); see also Leola Nelson Bergmann, *The Negro in Iowa* (1969). A good description of the "child," "beast," and local-color Negro in another midwestern city with a small black population can be found in James E. DeVries, *Race and Kinship in a Midwestern Town: The Black Experience in Monroe, Michigan, 1900–1915* (1984).